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National Intelligence Daily

Thursday 16 June 1983

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Contents

USSR: Party Plenum Ends	1
Chile: Growing Opposition	2
Israel-Lebanon: Economic Pressure	3
EC: Summit Preview	4
Egypt-USSR-Eastern Europe: Arms Purchases	7
Egypt-USSR-Eastern Europe: Arms Purchases USSR-China: Soviets Criticize Chinese Premier	7 7

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Special Analysis

Spain: Gonzalez's Prospects

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16 June 1983

Top Secret

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USSR: Party Ple	num Ends		
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	ech by General Secretary And <u>res that ind</u> icated a strengther		
position.	ges that maleuted a strengther	mig of the political	25X1
<i>p</i>			
Andropov's	speech set forth ideas to be o	considered in a revised	
	covering all aspects of policy f		
	ared to be preparing the party		
	nge in many areas of econom med to be calling for greater		
	rd with national labor requirer		
	anagers who now are penaliz		
	it do not show an immediate i		25X1
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	oolicy, Andropov emphasized s allies, the favorable nature		
	d the continued presence of "		
	apport peaceful coexistence in		
"aggressivenes			25X1
T l l		il automoral manter abiaf	
	approved the appointment of		
	party Secretariat and the reather Russian Soviet Federated		
	Control Committee. A newcon	•	
secretary Vorot	nikov, was made a candidate	member of the	
	nembers who are in disgrace)
corruption scan	dals were removed from the (Jentral Committee.	25X1
Comment:	Andropov's views on the Part	y Program amount to a	
major political a	nd social platform that will be	e likely to dominate	
	n for some months to come.		05)/4
Chernenko in a	secondary role as ideological	spokesman.	25X1
The shifts in	personnel assignments impro	ove Andropov's position,	
primarily by dilu	ting Chernenko's authority in	the party Secretariat.	
	ably arranged Romanov's mo		1
which will make	Romanov a senior party lead	er.	25X1
Vorotnikov'	s promotion strongly suggests	s that he will replace	
	Premier in the RSFSR, where		
first deputy pre	mier. The removal of the two	disgraced Central	
	nbers—a rare action—underl		051/4
intention to pur	sue his anticorruption campai	gn.	25X1
In his discu	ssion of economic changes, A	ndropov appeared to be	
	casting of priorities in the exi		
a shift to marke	t forces.		25 X 1
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CHILE: Growing Opposition	
The widespread support for the "Day of National Protest" on Tuesday and the government's slow pace of transition to civilian rule will encourage more opposition activities in coming months.	25)
Press sources report at least one person was killed and 644 arrested in Santiago and other major cities. The National Workers' Command, a coalition of labor confederations led by Copperworkers' President Seguel, organized small street rallies and business and school boycotts. Leftist youths are believed responsible for the	
10 bombings.	25)
The two leading political coalitions of right, center, and moderate-left parties publicly supported the protests. Air Force General Leigh—a retired junta member—and transport workers and wheatgrowers also endorsed the demonstrations.	25)
President Pinochet attributes the agitation to the Chilean Communist Party and to Soviet influence. He says the constitutional timetable will not be changed and vows the government will stand firm. The government has announced that Seguel, who already is being prosecuted for organizing protests on 11 May, has been arrested.	25)
Comment : The organizers of the protest probably will continue to push their demands—ranging from an end to the state of emergency to establishment of a congress—by organizing similar protests next month. Demonstrators were more successful in organizing activities outside the capital and among professional groups.	25)
The extent of the demonstrations will increase public doubts concerning Pinochet's assertion that opposition activites are the result of Communist efforts. Vigorous prosecution of Seguel is likely to provoke immediate protests and may lead to a strike by the	
copperworkers or a general strike.	25)

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16 June 1983

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ISRAEL-LEBANON: Economic Pressure

Israeli actions in occupied southern Lebanon that have provoked local strikes are seriously depressing the economy.	
The US Embassy reports Israeli forces are preventing farmers in the area from marketing their goods by stopping trucks carrying Lebanese produce to Beirut. Trucks carrying Israeli produce to Beirut, however, are permitted to pass without incident. A Lebanese press report states that, under a new Israeli regulation, merchandise coming from Beirut or elsewhere in Lebanon is barred from the Israeli-controlled area unless the Israeli military commander has given prior approval.	
In Sidon, Israeli forces recently retaliated against a general strike by merchants by briefly detaining local business leaders and warning strikers that their shops would be forced to remain closed for a month. Earlier this year the head of the Chamber of Commerce in Sidon tried to compile a list of Lebanese businessmen violating Lebanese law by trading with Israel. He stopped after receiving a warning from Israeli military headquarters.	
Israel has routinely violated its pledge given last year not to export agricultural items that compete with local produce. Shias in the south charge that President Gemayel has done little to stem the flow of such Israeli produce, which has captured a large share of the local market. The Shias say that Christian merchants in East Beirut receive and sell the bulk of the imports from Israel.	
Comment : Israel's regulation of commercial traffic is aggravating the already depressed economy of the south. The Israelis appear determined to gain an economic foothold in Lebanon and probably will adopt additional restrictive measures.	
Gemayel cannot prevent Israeli products from entering Beirut. His failure to do so, however, strengthens Shia suspicions that he would sacrifice the south to preserve the interests of Maronite Christians.	

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16 June 1983

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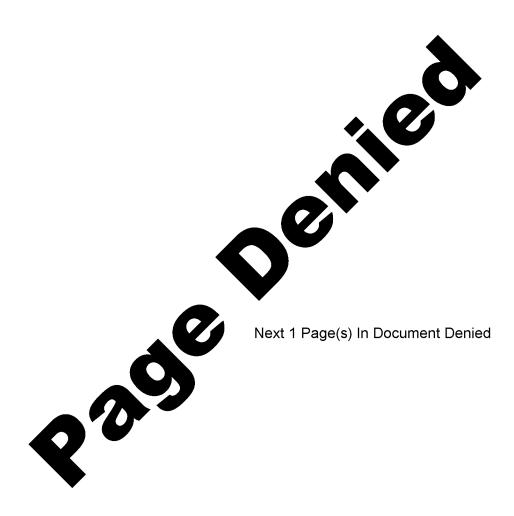
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EC: Summit Preview

The three-day EC Summit that begins in Stuttgart tomorrow will address the EC budget, the Solemn Declaration on European Union, and enlargement of the EC. but no major breakthroughs are likely on these issues.
The 10 heads of government will consider a plan by the Commission to ease the budget squeeze by raising the share of national value-added taxes allotted to the Community. The plan proposes to deal with the British payments problem over the long term by placing more of the financial burden on the wealthiest EC states and on the primary beneficiaries of the Common Agricultural Policy.
The Solemn Declaration is a weakened version of a proposal made in 1981 by West German Foreign Minister Genscher and Italian Foreign Minister Colombo for a European Union. Among other things, it calls for a common EC foreign policy, qualified majority voting in the EC Council, and expanded powers for the European Parliament.
A senior West European diplomat reports that the 10 leaders will announce a deadline for concluding negotiations on Spanish and Portuguese accession to the Community. According to the diplomat, the date may be as early as 1 January 1985.
Comment : Agreement is unlikely on budget reform. Denmark, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg—which would pay proportionally the most under the Commission's proposal—probably will resist linking contributions to per capita income and agricultural production.
The Solemn Declaration would do little to further EC political integration. The deadline for negotiations on Spanish and Portuguese accession may not be met. Nonetheless, it should increase pressure on the EC Commission and on Madrid to settle the economic questions connected with Spain's entry.

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16 June 1983



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EGYPT-USSR-EASTERN EUROPE: Arms Purchases

Except for Romania, the Warsaw Pact stopped selling arms to Egypt in 1975.

Comment: The purchases appear largely intended to prolong the life of Egypt's inventory of obsolete Soviet equipment. East European members of the Warsaw Pact coordinate arms sales policies with Moscow, and all the deals have Soviet approval. Egypt continues to look toward the West, especially the US, for most of its weapons,

particularly those employing advanced technology. This preference, however, will not deter Cairo from concluding deals that could extend the life of much of its Soviet equipment and improve relations with

USSR-CHINA: Soviets Criticize Chinese Premier

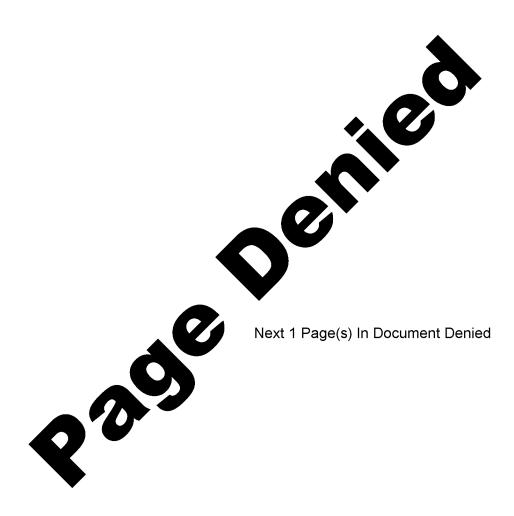
Communist countries.

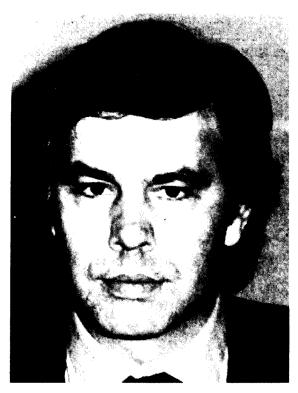
Pravda and Izvestiya on 9 June carried a TASS article attacking the report by Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang to the National People's Congress. TASS accuses Zhao of making a "slanderous assertion" about the USSR's threat to China, of repeating "hackneyed accusations" against Vietnam and Kampuchea, and of misrepresenting Soviet attempts to defend Afghanistan from "imperialist aggression." It notes, however, that Zhao had "admitted" that neither side benefits from prolonged tensions and that "both peoples" are interested in a normalization of relations.

Comment: This is the first attack in the Soviet media on a Chinese leader by name since the resumption of the Sino-Soviet dialogue last fall. Other recent Soviet articles have criticized the Chinese stand on Mongolia, Kampuchea, and Afghanistan. The Soviets seem to be cautioning against unrealistic expectations for a dramatic improvement in relations. Moscow also seems to be trying to make it clear that, while it will continue to work for better ties, it will not make large unilateral concessions on key issues.

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16 June 1983





Prime Minister Gonzalez

Age 41 . . . Spain's most popular and charismatic politican . . . secretary general of the Socialist Party since 1974 . . . specialist in labor law . . . appears committed to democracy and social justice . . . leadership style is both collegial and authoritative.

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16 June 1983

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Special Analysis

SPAIN: Gonzalez's Prospects

Prime Minister Gonzalez, who will visit Washington next week, is still enjoying a political honeymoon with the public seven months after coming to power. He shows every sign of holding to the moderate domestic course he set at the outset of his tenure. Gonzalez also seems intent on continuing a foreign policy that balances close ties to the West with independent diplomatic moves. If he is unable by the end of the year to show real progress toward reducing unemployment and entering the EC, leftist demands could increase and some of his political support could erode.

The Socialist Party's centrist platform contributed substantially to its election victory last fall. Since then, Gonzalez has adopted predominantly middle-of-the-road policies, in part to hold on to his moderate constituents. The Prime Minister's efforts to reduce inflation, contain the budget deficit, and increase exports also conform to his views of what is best for the country.

This approach, however, carries some costs. Unemployment has climbed to 18 percent since the Socialists took power. Leftwing Socialists are disconcerted by the government's approach but have not yet begun to blame Gonzalez for continuing problems.

Gonzalez's continuing political success—as demonstrated by the Socialists' near sweep of the local regional elections in May—has chastened potential critics on both the left and right. The Communists have carefully hedged their opposition because they do not want to appear to be undermining the first left-of-center government in nearly 50 years. The military has been impressed by the Socialists' popular support and pleased by the government's purchase of the F-18 fighter-bomber and its tough stands on terrorism and the recovery of Gibraltar as Spanish territory.

NATO and the EC

There are signs that Madrid is increasingly aware of the benefits of full military integration. Last month Gonzalez supported the Alliance's decision on INF deployment, and Defense Minister Serra—a principal backer of NATO—has pledged publicly that Spain will participate in Alliance military maneuvers.

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16 June 1983

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In addition, Spanish ministers attended both the Defense Planning Committee and the North Atlantic Council meetings earlier this month. Pressure from Foreign Minister Moran and other members of the Socialist left, however, forced the Spanish delegates to both meetings to reaffirm that Spain has not yet made a final decision on NATO.

Gonzalez's public remarks on INF and his statement that the Socialist Party's long-promised referendum on NATO might be put to the public indirectly appear to have been a first step toward moving both his party and the country toward acceptance of NATO. Nonetheless, Gonzalez will not be able to press much further on integration until the economy rebounds and increases his political capital with leftist voters. He also has informed Western officials that at least limited progress on Madrid's bid to recover Gibraltar will be necessary to swing Spanish opinion behind the Alliance.

Progress in Spain's negotiations to enter the EC is crucial to the integration issue.

The US Ambassador reports that Gonzalez moved Kohl to launch a diplomatic campaign to speed Spain's accession to the EC. A major obstacle to Spanish entry, however, is the potential burden it poses for the Community's budget. The Ambassador believes that both Madrid and the EC may try to reduce that cost by pressing the US for concessions on the exports of vegetable oils to the Community.

Latin America and the US

During his recent trip to Latin America, Gonzalez strongly endorsed the peace initiative in Central America by the "Contadora" countries-Venezuela, Mexico, Colombia, and Panama-and criticized US policy. He also suggested that US and Cuban intervention in Central America magnified regional tensions by transforming them into East-West disputes. Although Gonzalez acknowledges the undemocratic character of Nicaraguan and Cuban regimes, he believes that US opposition has increased their dependence on Moscow.

Gonzalez's independent stance on Central America is a blend of political expediency and personal conviction. Activist policies toward Latin America are popular with many Spanish voters, and taking issue with the US about the problems in that region reduces some of the misgivings Spanish leftists have about Madrid's close defense relationship with Washington.

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16 June 1983

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There are probably limits, however, on how far G s line on Central America.	ionzalez will push
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Public support for Gonzalez could begin to softe	n by the end of
s year if the economy fails to improve and he has	not made
ogress on EC accession or achieved some other for	reign policy
ccess. At that point, the call by Communist trade i	unions for more
cpansive policies could begin to strike a responsive ocialist unions and among the working class general	chord in
generation and among the working class generation	ally.
The Prime Minister, however, is a skillful and det	ermined
The Prime Minister, however, is a skillful and det plitician. Even a substanial increase in leftist pressusily budge him from his middle-of-the-road course	re would not

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16 June 1983

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